563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the [173] Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148.) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

802 right hand is stretched out to indicate one, etc., up to nine-
201 teen. To indicate twenty, thirty, forty, the fists are beaten together two, three, or four times while counting: two tens (amatschjumi awili), three tens (amatschjumi atatu), etc. There are no specific numbers above ten (No. 19, pp. 114-115).

802 If in practical life the Murundi has to calculate with objects, for example, when buying a certain number of sweet potatoes or manioc or beads, he divides the objects in groups of five, then piles two such groups of five together, and then adds the two, three, or four tens, etc. [147] A Murundi will hardly ever count above 100; he will always try to visualize the amounts by dividing them into separate groups, for example, when counting cattle or the warriors or subjects of a mutwale.

The Murundi does not have a number for describing the concept of "much" or "very much," as, for instance, the figure 40 among the Turkic peoples or 600 among the Romans; he expresses "much, many" with the Bantu word inschi (Swahili, ingi).

3. Language

● 197 All Barundi speak the same Bantu idiom, Kirundi. This is true of the original Batwa inhabitants as well as of the Bahutu who settled in the area later, and also of the most recent Hamitic conquerors, the Batussi. Kirundi belongs to the agglutinative languages; its structure is the same as that of all Bantu languages. Its distribution covers the entire interlacustrine region. It is spoken in Urundi and, with dialectal variations, in Ruanda, Uha (Ujungu, Uschingu, Heru, Uruguru) and in Ujiji. The idioms spoken in Usindja, Ussuwi, and Karagwe, i.e., Kisindja, Kimueri, and Kinjambo, are very similar to Kirundi, and the languages spoken in Uganda and Unjoro are closely related to it (No. 19, p. 329). Many Kirundi words, mainly for governmental and administrative institutions and religious customs, can also be found in the Kinjamwesi dialects, such as Kissumbwa, Kirwana, Kisukuma, and Kitakama. The religious
198 secret societies (Waswesi, Batschwesi) of these peoples make

German. In order to avoid harshness in the sound and pronunciation of words, the Murundi never permits an uninterrupted succession of two consonants or two vowels in the same syllable; he separates the consonants by a vowel and the vowels by a consonant or by the elision of one of the vowels.

However, in addition to the Kirundi which is generally spoken in Urundi, there is also a vulgar and sacral Old Kirundi. Its use is limited, and wherever it is spoken only fragments of it are mixed with modern Kirundi. The Barundi have two, three, or more terms for most objects and concepts; some belong to the elegant conversational language, others to the vulgar manner of speech of Old Kirundi which is used by the common people, old women, and also by the Batwa whenever they are among themselves (No. 19, p. 330), and it is found in the religious hymns, festive chants, and ceremonial speeches (see pp. 70, 124, 128). In Ruanda there is also a secret ritual language called "lubandwa" (No. 48, p. 315), and there is a similar language called "luchwesi" in Ussuwi (No. 24, p. 57).

In Old Kirundi the roots of nouns and verbs and their inflection are quite different from modern Kirundi. They are also unlike those of any other Bantu language. Presumably Old Kirundi is the original language of the Batwa who have been living in these highlands longer than anyone else. The immigrants who arrived later learned this language from the Batwa and at present use it either separately in addition to their own idiom or intermingled with it. Of course, the Batwa speak modern Bantu Kirundi in addition to their original language (No. 18, pp. 106-107).

Here are a few examples to illustrate the three linguistic elements which co-exist in Urundi:

Word	Kitwa	Old Kirundi	New Kirundi
sun	irijotwa	irijotwa	isuba
moon	ukurabwa	ukurabwa	ukwesi
leopard	uwuhama	uwuhama	ingwe
sorghum	ururerema	ururerema	isakka
to hunt	kutamagisa	kutamagisa	kuhiga
to forge	kunaga	kunagura	kususa

• 197 According to Czekanowski, these Kitwa words are also known in Ruanda; supposedly they belong to a "local dialect" there. It appears that the language of the Batwa living in the volcanic regions of northern Ruanda is still another one; even such an eminent expert on Ruanda as Father Barthélemy was not familiar with it (No. 48, p. 131), and the idiom of the Ituri Batwa seems to belong to still another linguistic group. Samples of it taken down by Stuhlmann have no similarity with the Kitwa spoken in Urundi (No. 19, p. 330).

It is quite noteworthy that the Hamitic Batussi who invaded Urundi from the north and northeast approximately four centuries ago (see p. 7) understand Old [149] Kirundi, but as far as we know they have preserved no trace of their own original Hamitic language. To all appearances they stayed in the northern Bantu countries for quite some time before coming to Urundi. As a result they lost all trace of their Hamitic language and exchanged it for Bantu Kirundi, in addition to giving up many of their original Hamitic customs and accepting many Bantu customs and concepts. This phenomenon is especially noteworthy since the Batussi up to the present day have strictly and unwaveringly maintained the somatic and social purity of their race against the Bantu peoples over whom they rule. According to Captain von Langenn, only the members of the royal family, the Baganwa, have preserved some fragments of the Hamitic language, but van der Burgt has no knowledge of this (written communication). Also the missionary Roehl describes as incorrect the claim which often appears in the literature on the subject that the Ruanda Batussi have a separate language (No. 47a, p. 274). On the other hand, Captain Weiss reports that the Bahima of Ruanda and Mpororó have their own special language which he and his men could not understand, but he does not give any specimens (No. 33, p. 70). Future investigators should pay particular attention to such Hamitic language fragments, for they might yield valuable indications as to the former language and thus the origin of the Batussi.

Comparisons will have to be made with the Niloto-Hamitic languages of the Massai, Teso, Bari, Latuka, and especially with

197 the language of the Nandi in the Uganda protectorate. The language of the Nandi, of all the languages of East Africa, seems to resemble most closely the pure Hamitic language type since the Nandi probably are the remnants of a former Galla invasion. (A. W. Crabtree, "The Languages of the Uganda Protectorate," Journal of the African Society, January, 1914, pp. 158 ff.)

194 An exact study of the peculiar manner in which the Batussi speak the Bantu idiom, Kirundi, will also yield many intimations and indications in this respect, for it is obvious even to an observant layman that the Batussi differ from the Bahutu in speaking Kirundi. They have a different accent, pronounce certain sounds differently, and combine the syllables differently. In general, it seemed to me that in both Ruanda and in Urundi the Batussi speak Kirundi with a much softer intonation and also that they have a tendency to swallow the vowels of the final syllables. Instead of the 's' or 'ss' pronounced by the Bahutu, they use a very soft 'sch' or 'dsch': instead of Munjahasi they say Munjahasch'; instead of Lanongo, Lanong'; instead of Lubassa, lubasch'. It is also often difficult to say whether the final vowel pronounced is an 'a,' or 'e.' It is also difficult to hear the difference in the pronunciation of 'r,' 'l,' and 'd.'

113 It would serve no purpose to list examples of modern Kirundi at this point since one may consult the comprehensive Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi by Father J. M. van der Burgt and the small Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français by Father F. Ménard which is specifically intended for missionary use (No. 29). Van der Burgt reproduces a few examples of stories, fables, songs, and hymns with an interlinear translation in his Dictionnaire, pp. 96, 292-293, 332-334, 339-342; I myself cannot add anything to them. In conclusion, however, I should 539 like to add a few proverbs which are noteworthy for their sharpness of observation and brevity of expression (No. 19, p. 470).

[150] 1) Ivintu vy'ukwibwa viraguma.
Things of no interest (are) hard [to comprehend].

Chapter 6

Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

101 174

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong

[113]

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

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[113]

Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

● 197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

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1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Éléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
● 197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kissukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the inter-lacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelémy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

563 Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
186 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the